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SOCIETY.
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Jenkins, William

Secretary. Harrison
Hale, M. D.
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THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. I.]

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND ISAAC KNAPP, PUBLISHERS.

[NO. 48.]

Boston, Massachusetts.]

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE MANKIND.

[SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1831.]

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THE LIBERATOR.

‘If the most guilty and daring transgressor be sought, he is a Gospel Minister, who solemnly avows his belief of the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, or of the Methodist Discipline, and notwithstanding himself is a *Negro Pedler*, who steals, buys, sells, and keeps his brethren in slavery, or supports by his taciturnity, or his smooth prophesying, or his direct defence, the Christian professor who unites in the kidnapping trade. Truth forces the declaration, that every church officer, or member, who is a slaveholder, records himself by his own creed, a hypocrite!’—REV. GEORGE BOURNE.

For the Liberator.

ADDRESS TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

Perhaps at no former period did the Foreign relations of the United States require less legislative enactment, or its internal affairs more imperiously demand attention, than the present. There is one question, relating to the latter, that we are fully persuaded involves, more than any other, our peace and prosperity; and as harmony will be the result of right—and general discord and extensive desolation of wrong views and decisions upon it, it behooves the representatives of a great nation calmly to investigate the subject.

It is not the spirit in a few that would annul, at will, the laws of the Union, to which we refer; this, is an effervescence of passion, that seeks to attribute the approaching bankruptcy and ruin of one section of our country, to any thing rather than the true cause. We allude to the varieties of *character, color, and feeling*, in our people, and to their *treatment of each other*.

We are not of the number of those who consider our mixed population a circumstance necessarily unfavorable to general prosperity, virtue and happiness. Future ages, we believe, will have cause to acknowledge it to be a blessing; and it is our fault if we do not make it so, instead of a *tremendous curse*! But we have our choice, and on that choice how immense the dependencies!

Bishop Heber was probably right in his supposition that the red, medium, or copper color, was the

original complexion of man, and that it still is, and will forever continue to be, the hue of the greatest portion of the human race. The millions of Asia, the former millions of the two Americas, attest this. And when we indulge in declamation on the difficulty of civilizing savages, it were well for us to reflect that our ancestors were denominated Picts, from the circumstance of going naked and painting their bodies. They were also in the habit of offering up human victims to their grim idols. History moreover informs, that they made less progress in civilization during five hundred years, than the Creeks and Cherokees have made in fifty. This difference, it is true, may be attributed to the peculiar state of society at the different periods. Northern hordes poured into England, together with the more polished Gauls and Flemings, each impressed with their national prejudices, hating, fighting and destroying each other, for a long series of years. At last, wearied with useless contention and conflicts for precedence, they settled into peace. And among the causes of the present superiority of the whites, perhaps no one has had such powerful physical and intellectual effects as the almost unlimited amalgamation of the people of these different nations. We sometimes call ourselves Anglo-Americans: the term, we see, is inappropriate, even were we to exclude the thousands of Europeans other than from that island, who have been landing for more than two hundred years upon our shores. What says the greatest of living poets, Montgomery?

‘The blood of Romans, Saxons, Gauls and Danes,
Swelled the rich fountain of the Briton’s veins.’

Hence it is inferred, that from this very amalgamation springs our superiority.

Jefferson has been charged with attempting to degrade one race of men as naturally inferior to another. But what was his language in after years?

See Jefferson’s Memoirs, vol. 1. p. 229. ‘As to the original man of America, I know of no respectable evidence on which the opinion of the inferiority of genius has been founded, but that of Don Uloa. Don Uloa’s testimony is the most respectable. He wrote of what he saw; but he saw the Indian of South America only, and that, after he had passed through ten generations of slavery. It is very unfair from this sample to judge of the natural genius of this race of men; and after supposing that Don Uloa had not sufficiently calculated the allowance which should be made for this circumstance, we do him no injury in considering the picture he draws of the present Indians of South America, as no picture of what their ancestors were three hundred years ago. It is in North America we are to seek their original character; and I am safe in affirming that the proofs of genius given by the Indians of North America, place them on a level with whites in the same uncultivated state. The North of Europe furnishes subjects enough for comparison with them and for proof of their equality. I have seen some thousands of them myself, and conversed much with them, and have found in them a masculine, sound understanding. I have had much information from men who have lived among them, and whose veracity and good sense were so far known to me as to establish a reliance on their information. They have also agreed in bearing witness in favor of the genius of this people. As to their bodily strength, their manners rendering it disgraceful to labor, those muscles employed in labor will be weaker in them than with the European laborer; but those which are exerted in the chase, and those faculties which are employed in the tracing an enemy or a wild beast, in contriving ambushes for him, and in carrying them through their execution, are much stronger than with us, because they are more exercised.

I have supposed the *black man* in his present state might not be so; but it would be hazardous to affirm that *equally cultivated* for a few generations, he would not become so.’

We believe that those who have observed and investigated most closely, admit that man, under like advantages and disadvantages, is equal, in all nations and climes; but it does appear to be a law of creation, that the admixture of different races of the same genus produce a superior individual. The farmer knows this in his domestic animals; and this result in man is perhaps intended to counteract the prejudice that all, more or less, feel for their own tribe, nation or color; and could we hope to induce our readers to lay down a portion of their prejudi-

ces, we would instance the half breeds among the Indians and our mulattoes, in proof of the correctness of our position. We believe them to be superior to their parents on either side. But be this as it may, it is monstrous to assert that a man’s civil rights should be affected by his complexion.

The following letter will shew how one of our greatest statesmen would have acted on a question which, in vindication of our national character, may yet have to be brought before you.

Thos. Jefferson to Gen. Knox, Aug. 10th, 1791.

‘I am of opinion that Government should firmly maintain this ground; that the Indians have a right to the occupation of their lands, independent of the States within whose chartered lines they happen to be; that until they cede them by treaty, or other transaction equivalent to a treaty, no act of a state can give a right to such lands; that neither under the present constitution nor the ancient confederation had any state or person, a right to treat with the Indians without the consent of the general government; that the consent has never been given to any treaty for the cession of the lands in question; [an authority assumed at that time by South Carolina] the general government is determined to exert all its energy for the patronage and protection of the rights of the Indians, and the preservation of peace between the United States and them; and that if any settlements are made on lands not ceded by them, without the previous consent of the United States, the government will think itself bound not only to declare that such settlements are without the authority of the United States, but to remove them also by the public force.’

This language needs no comment.

Let us now see what were his views as to the most tremendous evil now pressing at our very doors! It appears he had early prepared an amendment to the constitution of Virginia, providing for the freedom of all slaves born after a certain day. ‘But,’ says he, vol. 1, p. 40, ‘it was found that the public mind would not bear the proposition, nor will it bear it at this day; yet the day is not distant when it must bear and adopt it, or worse will follow. *Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that this people are to be free.* It is in our power to direct the process of emancipation peaceable. If, on the contrary, it be left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up.’

And he gives the reason why his friends did not urge the matter more forcibly. ‘They saw,’ says he, vol. 1, p. 428, ‘the moment of doing it with success was not arrived, and that an unsuccessful effort, as too often happens, would only rivet still closer the chains of bondage, and retard the moment of delivery to this oppressed description of men. What a stupendous, what an incomprehensible machine is man, who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and even death itself, in vindication of his own liberty, and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow man a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose! But we must wait with patience the workings of an overruling Providence, and hope that that is preparing the deliverance of these our suffering brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full, when their groans shall have involved heaven itself in their distress, and by diffusing light and liberality among their oppressors, or at length by his exterminating thunder, manifest his attention to the things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of a blind fatality.’ Thus far Jefferson; and cold must he be who can read with indifference these eloquent and forcible unfoldings of his penetrating mind, or doubt the certainty of their fulfilment.

Examples on both hands are before us. Had the planters of St. Domingo acted as discreetly as the aristocracy of a considerable portion of Europe are now acting, and yielded, however reluctantly, to the just claims of the laboring portion of the community, they might in all human probability have averted a convulsion that swept them from the earth, and at this moment have been directing a vast body of free contented laborers on their immense estates. But a

desperate resolution to persist in wrongs so long practised with impunity, sealed their doom. And may no ideas of property merely nominal, and repugnant to every rule of equity—may no lust of power, that it is revolting to an undepraved mind either to exert or to endure, tempt us also to destruction, and convert the garden of the Union into a field of blood!

The path of safety is before us, and not untrodden. The South American republic, Mexico, and many of our own States, have successively liberated large bodies of slaves without any serious inconvenience. This has cut up negro insurrections at the root; for assert what we may, we all know that their paramount object is *freedom*. But we are asked, did not the insurgents in Virginia barbarously murder our innocent infants? Yes! and the reason was obvious: we had impressed it upon them that their infants, equally innocent, were doomed to be the slaves of ours! This was the motive for the atrocious act; and can we expect the fire to go out while we continue to heap fuel upon it?

Surely it would be a libel on the American character to assert, that we are less disposed to do a noble action, to redress an acknowledged wrong, than neighboring nations, or less able to cope with its attendant difficulties.

We hear much of colonizing the free people of color at Liberia. Let us see what Jefferson says on this subject. After mentioning that one great object of the Colonization Society is to civilize Africa—‘The second object,’ says he, vol. 4, p. 388, ‘and the most interesting to us, as coming home to our physical and moral character, to our happiness and safety, is to provide an asylum by which we can by degrees send the whole of that population from among us, and establish them under our patronage and protection as a separate, free, and independent people, in some country friendly to human life and happiness. That any place on the coast of Africa should answer the latter purpose, I have ever deemed *entirely impossible*.’ He then appeals to figures to shew further, that from their progressive increase, it would be utterly impossible to remove them there, and proposes St. Domingo as a much more eligible place. ‘St. Domingo,’ says he, ‘has become independent, and with a population of that color only; and if the public papers are to be credited, their Chief offers to pay their passage, and provide them employment.’ Persecution, it seems, has also driven a colony of free blacks to establish themselves in Canada; and it will be well if the day does not arrive when we shall have cause to repent the act that expelled them. And why all these efforts? Are the southern States so densely populous that the only productive laborers, those whose constitutions are best suited to the climate, the very sinews of the land, are these to be banished in every direction for no crime? when by a simple act of justice, such as our neighboring republics have already passed, they might be converted from an oppressed, and therefore dangerous, to a free, satisfied, and valuable portion of the community.*

Some of you will be ready to say, all this may be very true, but it is lost upon us, seeing the Constitution gives us no power to interfere; the subject being solely within the province of the State Governments. Here arises a question of very serious moment; and if we mistake not, on investigation it will be found, that those who are perpetually clamoring about a violated Constitution, are themselves habitually guilty of the grossest infractions of that instrument. We ask you to *enforce*, not to *infringe* its provisions.

The Constitution declares that ‘all men are born free.’

* If national character be of any value, or future welfare be worth a thought, can we, when we reflect on the project for expelling the colored population from our land, do less than tremble! lest in this more enlightened period, a double portion of the infamy that has loaded for ages the Spanish name for their cruel expulsion of the Moors, rest upon us! And while we behold the haughty Spaniard drinking to its dregs the cup of squalid wretchedness, as a just retribution of Providence for this injustice to that people and to the Indians of South America, let us remember that *like causes produce like effects*.

The slaveholder declares that many are born slaves.

The former proclaims all equal.

The latter asserts that the minority has in some States a right to buy and sell the majority like beasts of burden.

The constitution guarantees to each state a republican form of government. Now can any combination of men sanctioning injustice like this, be a republic?

It is true Jefferson says, in speaking of the states, vol. 2, p. 63, 'The southern ones at this time are aristocratic in their dispositions, and that this spirit should grow and extend itself, is within the natural order of things.' And is it not in the natural order of things that every good citizen should seek to check it?

Can it be, while we and half the people of Europe raise our voices in behalf of the Greeks, Poles, and others in aid of their efforts for freedom, that we have no right to lisp a syllable for two millions of our own native born Americans groaning under a tenfold more oppressive thralldom?

The colored inhabitants of these United States, including both slave and free, have about reached the number of our whole population at the period of the revolution.* Now from the present aspect of affairs, slavery will soon receive its death blow in the whole Archipelago of the West Indies, and it will be well to reflect whether after that event, it will be possible to keep our own slaves in subjection. Why not make a virtue of necessity, and rather than reluctantly follow, gloriously lead? There is safety in the latter, incalculable peril in the former!

Those who will protest most loudly against your intervention peacefully to remove this enormity, will not hesitate to call upon you to sacrifice thousands of lives and millions of money, to aid them to crush in others the spirit of freedom that animates themselves. Indeed, the troops of the United States garrison, at this moment, the slave arsenals of the south, at the expense of the nation; and the consequence of this revolting service may be read in the unheard of desertions from the army, reported by the late Secretary at War.

There is another matter connected with this subject, it behooves you carefully to examine. Treaties have been formed with foreign powers, reciprocally granting certain privileges to their subjects and our citizens. Now England, France, Denmark, &c. have recently declared their free colored subjects entitled to equal privileges with any other. These in the pursuit of their lawful callings, on arriving in southern ports will be liable by the laws of those states to be seized, imprisoned and sold into slavery, simply on account of their complexion! Will this be submitted to? Have we a better and more valid right to make slaves of their subjects than they have to impress ours? And are the United States to be involved in a contest with foreign powers on this account?

Many of our own States have also invested this description of inhabitants with the rights of citizenship; a number of these our citizens have been seized while engaged in their lawful concerns in the southern states, and without any allegation of crime, sold into interminable slavery, regardless of the Constitution, which guarantees the citizens of each State an equality of rights. Nor is this all: our respectable free white citizens, while travelling in the southern states, have been insulted and disgracefully maltreated for merely expressing their disapprobation of slavery. These things have produced a painful state of public feeling; if persisted in, may yet sever our bond of union. On whom but you shall the people of the United States call to break the chains that now bind the Missionaries in the dungeons of Georgia? Can it be that Justice has fled our Halls of Legislation, and found shelter only in the cabin of the red man and the hut of the slave? Surely your united wisdom will devise some way to neutralize these various elements of discord and confusion.

Ex-President Monroe declared in the late Virginian convention his conviction that the question of slavery was of too great magnitude for the State Legislatures without the aid of the General Government. You can solemnly proffer that aid, which, if refused, would authorize you to protest against being called upon to waste the blood and treasure of the nation in seeking to perpetuate a system that all admit to be wrong, and which must ultimately bring down ruin on those who persist in it.

We conceive it utterly impossible that the plan of Colonization can ever afford the desired relief. What would have been said, had the British Government, at the time of the revolution, entertained a project for colonizing all our people in some foreign land? If the idea would have been preposterous then, is it more practicable for us now to remove, in like manner, a like number of our people, equally unwilling to go? And were it practicable, yet viewed as a question of political economy, such a measure would assuredly desolate the south, and annihilate,

* Jefferson states the number of slaves in the U. S. in 1785, to have been 700,000, giving a total of two millions six hundred and thirty-nine thousand three hundred inhabitants of every condition in the United States—see vol. 1, p. 424.

at a blow, its political influence, and almost its very existence. Deplorable as is the state of things, it does not require a remedy so absolutely desperate.

Lafayette frequently expressed his abhorrence of slavery, declaring that it was a dark spot on the face of the nation, that could not always exist; but the longer it exists, the more alarming the evil becomes. Jefferson says, that in twenty-five years from the date of one of his letters, their number 'will amount to six millions, and one million of these fighting men,' vol. 4, p. 388. With these facts and prospects before us, is it possible to believe that tranquillity, for any length of time, can be preserved without abolishing personal bondage, and granting something like an equality of rights to all our people? It is thus, and thus only, that the planters can retain their large estates in safety; and their superior intelligence, under a liberal and just system, might long enable them to direct the great mass of labor more safely at least, and we believe more profitably, than heretofore. Wealth and intelligence would still, as in other parts of the earth, give power. Open but the door for the elevation of the laboring classes, as their talents, industry and good conduct enable them to rise, and they will be satisfied.

Gradual manumission will unquestionably be continued while slavery exists; but it is *insufficient*, and we apprehend more dangerous than *immediate universal emancipation*, because it makes those retained more dissatisfied with their situation. A planter, on this account, dreads to employ a free black, and thus makes him a kind of persecuted outlaw. The treatment that this class receive, is a grievance that cries loudly for redress. We know individuals who employ free colored people in agricultural pursuits, and from patriotic motives sit at the same table with them; and we are assured that, with proper treatment, they have proved as sober, industrious, docile and valuable hands, as any they have ever employed. But they own no slaves. This line of conduct, though not essential, is, we are persuaded, among the best that could be adopted. It is, however, of *essential* importance, that we all, and more especially every statesman, labor to eradicate the prejudice that still so lamentably separates us; for until we emancipate our own minds from this thralldom, we shall continue to be unjust. Could we succeed in this great work, the harmony of the whole community would be at once restored, and this vast continent become universally, as it has hitherto partially been, the asylum of the human race.

In closing this address, allow me to assume the name of one of the most enlightened and benevolent of the human race now living, though not a white man.

RAMMOHUN ROY.

CAPT. STUART'S CIRCULAR.

The following pertinent remarks upon Capt. Stuart's eloquent and unanswerable anti-colonization Circular, are from the Herald of Truth:

'We think the facts and arguments contained in the following circular, first published in England, deserving an attentive consideration. We have never been able to perceive any probable advantage to the colored people, from a plan of colonization any where; and of all places, Africa seems to us the least eligible. The principles conceded, if not advocated by the American Colonization Society, we can never adopt. Some of our objections to the plan of African colonization will be found in the following circular. We do not, however, agree in opinion with the writer in all his statements. His second and fourth reasons for objecting to colonization, do not appear to us of much weight. That the transportation of the small number of blacks which the Colonization Society may send out of the country, will enhance the value of slave labor in this country, does not appear quite clear. Besides, it is not the slaves, but the free blacks whom the Society profess to colonize. And the abstraction of a few, or many of these, will not increase the value of slave labor. In those states in which the labor is wholly, or chiefly performed by slaves, the diminution of the number of laborers would increase the demand for, and raise the price of their labor. But the same remark will not apply to the free blacks, to whose case alone the argument can be applicable.'

'We think the annual increase in the annexed table too low by 10 or 15,000. The estimate also of the expense of transportation is much below the actual cost. Besides, there is no provision made for the support of these helpless beings after their arrival in Africa, until they could provide for their own wants. Double the cost of transportation would be required for their subsistence till they could maintain themselves, without making any provision for implements of husbandry, mechanics' tools, &c. &c. without which they would all perish, even without the help of a pestiferous climate. But yet the table shows at one view the utter futility of the whole scheme of African Colonization. Slavery can no more be removed by these means than the waters of the Mississippi can be exhausted by steam engines. And the removal of slavery is the great consummation to which all benevolent efforts for benefiting the African race in this country, should ultimately tend. All schemes that do not promote this end will prove futile, and will end in disappointment. The axe must be laid to the root of the corrupt tree. It is a system that admits of no palliation, no compromise. The future prosperity and happiness of the American people are incompatible with its continuance. This truth is indelibly sealed upon my understanding.'

SLAVERY RECORD.

A correspondent of the Richmond Whig, in giving an account of the Southampton tragedy, says of its author, Nat Turner:

'Nat had for some time thought closely on this subject—for I have in my possession, some papers given up by his wife, UNDER THE LASH.'

No doubt the vengeance of the slavites was wreaked upon the body of this unhappy woman, to a bloody extent. Such is slavery!

We learn, says the Petersburg Intelligencer, by a gentleman from Southampton, that the fanatical murderer, Nat Turner, was executed, according to his sentence, at Jerusalem, on Friday last, about 1 o'clock. He exhibited the utmost composure throughout the whole ceremony; and although assured that he might, if he thought proper, address the immense crowd assembled on the occasion, declined availing himself of the privilege, and told the sheriff in a firm voice, that he was ready. Not a limb nor a muscle was observed to move. His body, after death, was given over to the surgeons for dissection.

The last Mobile Patriot says, 'We have been requested by the Managers of the Mobile Sunday School, to give notice that hereafter no colored person will be received for instruction who does not bring a written permission to that effect from the owner.'

MORE TROUBLE WITH THE SLAVES.

A person at Louisville, Kentucky, writes us, 'An attempt at organization has just been discovered among the blacks, and several have been taken up in the vicinity of the city. The city authorities have taken the alarm, and passed an ordinance forbidding the appearance of negroes in the streets after eight o'clock. The papers from motives of policy do not notice the disturbance. Pity us.' We do pity them most sincerely; but we know of no way that they can obtain relief and escape from the awful calamities that await them, without vigorously putting their own shoulders to the wheel. And we are glad to see that in some of the southern states they have set about the business in good earnest. Virginia will make a powerful appeal to her next Legislature to take strong hold of it.

Portland Courier.

The Morning Post publishes the following extract of a letter from Alabama to a gentleman in Boston, dated Oct. 26.

'We are in a great state of alarm, in consequence of an attempted rising of the slaves here. Many have been arrested, and are now undergoing trial; what the final result will be, I cannot say—my own impression is, that the infection is pretty general with the negroes throughout the county. The sedition, however, is hushed for the present.'

Slave Traffic.—According to the New Orleans papers, there were imported into that port during the week commencing on the 16th ult. from various parts of the United States, 371 slaves, principally from Virginia.

371 per week is 19,202 per year, 7,800 of which, according to the above ratio, from Virginia alone. It is a fact that men, women and children are raised 'AS A CROP' in Virginia, but can the 'crop be so productive as to afford 7,800 for a single market? 'All men are created free and equal.'

N. Y. Sentinel.

EFFECTS OF SLAVERY.

The following paragraph is from a Fayetteville (N. C.) paper of Nov. 9:

'We learn that during the sitting of the Superior Court of New Hanover, last week, seven negro men slaves, concerned in the late conspiracy, were found guilty, and sentenced to be hung in Wilmington on Saturday next. One other slave was sent to Duplin county, there to be tried; and three free men of color were being tried at the date of our last information.'

The Superior Court for Sampson county is in session this week. A considerable number of negroes are to be tried.'

What horrible inconsistency it is for those who are freemen and call themselves 'republicans,' to hold their fellow men in bondage, and then HANG them, by dozens, if they attempt to gain their liberty!

A writer in the Petersburg (Va.) Intelligencer, says:—

'The sentiment is gaining ground in Virginia, that the whole African race ought to be removed from among us. Many people feel unwilling to die and leave their posterity exposed to all the ills which, from the existence of slavery in our State, they have themselves so long felt.'

'Others are unwilling themselves longer to suffer these inconveniences—some of our best citizens are already removing—others will doubtless follow, unless they can see a probability that at some period, the evil will be taken away.'

It is somewhat consoling to learn, as we do by the above paragraph, that the people of the South are awaking to the danger in which they are placed; but it is extraordinary that they do not determine to do justice, as the best means of averting the threatened danger. The project of removing them, we believe to be a fallacy; let them have a reasonable prospect of liberation, and prepare them for the change, and there will no longer be danger of insurrection.—Ibid.

RICHMOND, Nov. 9. We understand that on Sunday last, an infant child was found lodged against Trent's Bridge—a coroner's inquest was held over it, and upon examination, suspicion rested upon Sarah Nicholson, a woman of color, as the supposed mother of the child. She has been apprehended and committed to jail for trial.

JUVENILE DEPARTMENT.

A SHORT HISTORY

Of the poor SLAVES who are employed in cultivating Sugar, Cotton, Coffee, &c.; intended to make little children pity them, and use their endeavors to relieve them from bondage. No. II.

A poor Negro, from his first arrival in America, appeared thoughtful and dejected, frequently dropping tears, when taking notice of his master's children. The account he gave of himself was: That he had a wife and children in his own country; that some of them being sick and thirsty, he went in the night time to fetch water at a spring, when he was violently seized and carried away by persons who lay in wait to catch men; and was then transported to America. The remembrance of his family, friends, and other connexions left behind, whom he never expected to see any more, were the cause of his dejection and grief.

A Negro Girl, named Kate, who was accused of theft and disobedience in refusing to mend her clothes, was confined by her master and mistress, Henry and Helen Moss, for seventeen days in the stocks. The stocks were so constructed, that she could not sit up and lie down at pleasure, and she remained in them night and day. During this period she was repeatedly flogged, and cayenne pepper was rubbed upon her eyes to prevent her sleeping. Tasks were also given her, which she was incapable of performing, sometimes because they were beyond her powers, at other times because she could not see on account of the pepper having been rubbed on her eyes; and she was flogged for not performing these tasks. When she was taken out of the stocks, she appeared to be cramped, and was then again flogged. The very same day, she was sent to the field to labor, though heretofore she had been a house servant. Two days afterwards, she was brought before her owners as being ill and refusing to work. The driver took her to the negro-house, and again flogged her. The next morning at seven o'clock, she was taken to work in the field, and at noon she was released by death from any further sufferings.

A traveller relates that he went to attend a sale of some cattle, farm-stock, &c. for the purpose of procuring some fresh oxen for travelling. Amongst the stock of the farm to be sold, was a female slave and her three children.

They were exhibited on a table together, and the farmers examined them like cattle. The tears, the anxiety, the anguish of the mother, while she eyed the different buyers, or cast a heart-rending look on the children; and the simplicity and touching sorrow of the young ones, while they cling to their distracted parent, wiping their eyes and half concealing their faces, contrasted with the marked insensibility and jocular countenances of the purchasers, furnished a striking example of the miseries of slavery, and its hardening effects on slaveholders. While the poor woman was in this distressed situation, she was asked if she could feed sheep. Her reply was indistinct, but probably in the negative, as her purchaser said in a loud, harsh tone, that he would teach her with the sjamboc, which is a whip made of the tough hide of the Rhinoceros. The mother and her three children were sold to three different masters, and were torn from each other.

In the West Indian Reporter, and other papers recently circulated with a view of refuting the common reports respecting the 'Cruelties of West Indian Slavery,' the case of Juliana, a child said to be now about eleven years of age, is detailed, as given in evidence before a Committee of the House of Assembly of Jamaica. It appears that when she was about five years old, she was sent by her mistress (Eleanor Whitehead) down to her house on the Bay for a flannel jacket, and did not return until the following morning, when her mistress flogged her with a cat of six tails, and when running from the lick, the end of the cat licked her in the eye, and a little film grew over it. One witness who had evidently no intention of making slavery appear shocking to the people of England, stated, that 'he saw the instrument, through the means of which the accident happened; it was a small cat with six tails, and was made for the purpose of correcting children.'

From the Genius of Temperance.

MESSRS EDITORS,

There are thousands upon thousands who are inquiring at the present time, what can be done to overthrow slavery. They are anxious to do something, but what to do they find not. I will therefore propose a measure which, if adopted by all who wish to see slavery done away, will produce the desired effect—a measure which could be very easily adopted—which would cost neither blood nor treasure—and which surely will be adopted, if people care one half for the subject which they seem to do. The measure is this:—to practice 'total abstinence' from slave productions. Let free labor stores be established, and let the opposers of slavery patronize them, rather than others. In order to this, let Anti-Slavery Societies be organized, after the manner of Temperance Societies, and thus let the friends of the cause act in concert. Let there be Anti-Slavery Agents employed to scour the free states, and rouse up the people to the great measure of 'total abstinence' from the productions above mentioned. And it is self-evident, that if the market for slave productions should cease, slavery itself must cease.

Now, Messrs. Editors, there must be a beginning somewhere in this movement; and where in all this country, could it begin better than here, in this commercial metropolis?

I do therefore propose, that an Anti-Slavery meeting be called forthwith, for the purpose of adopting such measures as in their opinion will tend to overthrow slavery. And who can tell but such a meeting would be the commencement of a movement that would result in the accomplishment of this great object? Let us at least 'TRY.'

HUMANITAS.

DIED—In Philadelphia, on Monday afternoon, October 31, Joseph Black, aged 27, after a protracted illness of twelve months, which he bore with patience and resignation to the divine will.—*Corn.*

LITERARY.

From the Herald of Truth.

A NEW YEAR'S APOSTROPHE.

How fares our country? Patrons, she maintains
A place among the nations of the earth;
Her plume of glory waves as proud and high
As when on Erie's breast the star-gem'd flag
Triumphant rose! Or when above the walls
Of faithless Tripoli it rode the breeze;
And told her servile Dey, a stronger hand
Than ever grasped her glitt'ring crescent staff,
Columbia's banner clench'd, and held as firm
As him of old, when in his giant arms
He grasp'd the pillars of Philistia's strength,
And ground her marble palaces to dust.
'Our Country'—sacred, soul endearing name,
Where, where on earth, but on Columbia's shore,
Can Freedom rest—nor dip her feet in blood?
Where, where Columbia, but upon thy breast,
Can exil'd valor find its wish'd repose?
Turn not to Switzerland; her fairest fields
Are whiten'd with her bravest offspring's bones;
Fly not to France; her kennels flow with blood;
To England? No. Oppression there is seen
In other forms, but still as keenly felt.
With thee, Columbia, and with thee alone,
Is freedom only to be found? Art thou,
Columbia, kind to all the human race?
Are all thy shores to misery's children free?
Dost thou that mercy show which thou hast felt?
Is all thy boast of liberty a truth?
Alas! there is a blot upon thy fame:
There is a foul, a deep, a damning stain,
That soils the very soul of liberty!
Pollutes her flag, and dies her snowy robes
In human blood. There is a blighting curse
That mingles with thy prayers, and cries to heav'n
For speedy vengeance on thy guilty sons.
It rises on the breath of ev'ry breeze
That fans the sultry regions of the south.
Yea, from the sacred altar of the church
The negroes curse precedes the pastor's prayer,
And while he asks for mercy on his flock,
The sighs and groans of Afric's injured race,
Still louder call for justice on their heads.
Shame on the freeman—everlasting shame,
Who boasts of liberty, and owns a slave!
Who talks of freedom, while his purple scourge
Is reeking with his fellow creature's blood;
Who lifts in mockery the sacramental cup,
And while he drinks, pollutes its hallow'd wave
With tears from Afric's bleeding bosom wrung.
Spurn him, ye christians, spurn him from your walks!
Let not his wealth or power extort your praise,
Indignant frown upon his proffer'd gold;
And never may the gladd'ning ray of hope,
Or lovely woman's soul enchanting smile,
Ere dawn upon the darkness of his mind,
Till he shall bid oppression's galling chain,
From all his slaves, in useless fragments fall.

THE DYING STORM.

BY MISS H. F. GOULD.

I am feeble, pale and weary,
And my wings are nearly furled;
I have caused a scene so dreary
That I long to quit the world.
With bitterness I'm thinking
On the evil I have done,
And to my caverns sinking
From the coming of the sun!
The heart of man will sicken
In that pure and holy light,
When he sees his hopes are stricken
With an everlasting blight.
For, widely in my madness,
Have I poured abroad my wrath:
And, changing joy to sadness,
Scattered ruins on my path!
Earth shuddered at my motion,
And my power in silence owns:
But the deep and troubled ocean
O'er my deeds of horror moans.
I have sunk the brightest treasure;
I've destroyed the fairest form;
I have sadly filled my measure,
And am now a dying storm!

SONNET.

THE PRISONER FOR DEBT.

I saw an aged man, his locks were gray,
And thinly o'er his time-worn forehead spread;
His children and his early friends were dead,
Or journeying in some foreign land away.
And he had none his failing steps to stay,
Or cheer his passage to the friendly tomb;
A prison and a pittance were his doom,
A cold damp floor, far from the light of day.
And was his aged heart with murder stained,
Or black with treason, that he there was chained?
No—he had fought his native land to free,
And no dark crime upon his bosom lay.
Why then in that inhuman place was he?
He owed a trifling debt he could not pay.

ALONZO LEWIS.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE INVINCIBLE FANTASTICALS.

This is the name of a new regiment, which paraded for the first time at New-York, on Monday last, under the command of 'Napoleon the Reformer.' The regiment is five hundred strong. Its first turnout occasioned quite a sensation, and our contemporaries of New-York indulge in glowing descriptions. The Mercantile says: 'Wall-street was crowded at an early hour, by people looking anxiously in all directions, as if some 'splendid pageant' was expected. By and by, a group of ragged boys, with branches of trees for arms, tin kettles for drums, &c., made their appearance; these were followed by some fifty men on horseback. Anon, came 'Napoleon the Reformer,' accoutred like a hero, with nose enough to frighten a battalion of Cossacks, and after him came drums and fifes, trumpets and trombones, from which a black band were beating and breathing most discordant music. Now followed the 'plumed troop,' a motley and mobbed throng—dressed in the costume of all nations and tongues, and also in apparel which no nation under the sun ever thought of or saw before.

'The carnival in a catholic country, says the Advocate, is nothing to compare with it. We noticed one very strange figure on horseback, called, we understand, "Napoleon the Reformer." He was like the men of Gadshill "in Kendall green," his shoulder knots being images of his great self, his whiskers were of goodly size, and his culottes of buckskin, while his jack boots and chapeau of inordinate dimensions, filled up his costume. He sustained a silvered falchion, fully sufficient for a troubadour; his steed we could not well see, for the crowd which environed him.

We extract the following paragraphs from the Journal of Commerce. They will feed the reader's imagination:

'In attempting to give a brief description of this corps, language utterly fails to do it justice. No one imagination could have originated a tithe of the comic-alities of dress and equipage to be seen on this occasion. A wild Indian of the forest, a Cossack of the Don, a Turk, a Greek, a Chinese, and a monkey, brought into contact, and multiplied by a mirror of 100 convex glasses, twisting them into all manner of shapes but the right ones, and refracting all manner of colors, would perhaps form some faint resemblance of the heterogeneous group of which we are speaking. If there were any decent looking persons among them, they took care to encase their craniums with hideous masks, or in default thereof, to disfigure themselves with rouge and ochre. Few of them, however, were under the necessity of calling in extraneous aid in this respect.

Some of the head dresses were at least four feet in height above the pediment, and others nearly as much in diameter. No two were like each other, or like any thing else. Old fire-locks, bean poles, broken swords, and various other weapons, some of which were never before heard of, answered the purpose of arms; and for accoutrements, the styles were so diverse that it would be idle to attempt any description. A crooked-necked squash (powder horn) was the most common substitute for the cartridge-box, and as for the knap-sacks, few of them needed any, as they carried their bread and cheese in their hands, and to save time, ate it on the march.

In riding through Wall-street, the Commander-in-Chief, Napoleon Redivivus, narrowly escaped the misfortune of losing his nose; but immediately perceiving his danger, with great presence of mind he checked his gallant steed, adjusted the loosened member, and galloped to the fulfilment of his duties.

Among the exploits of the day may be mentioned the taking of Castle Garden, and the bayoneting of a loaf of bread by an orderly sergeant, which had been dropped by one of his fellow soldiers in the vanguard of the army.

Wherever they passed, the streets were lined with spectators, and in spite of the chill air, the ladies bestowed their smiles from the open windows, and even from the balconies. In Wall-street, some hundreds of people awaited their arrival for more than an hour.'

AN EXCELLENT HIT!

The following is copied from the N. Y. Daily Sentinel. A better delineation of *stavite* character and logic (as far as it goes) was never presented to the public. We could indulge in a little mirth at the expense of these gentlemen of the lancet, the pill-box, and 'cat-o-nine-tail,' but the subject is too serious, and the inhumanity of their sentiments is too horribly glaring.—*Genius of Univ. Eman.*

DISSECTION IN SLAVE STATES. In a prospectus of the South Carolina Medical School, says the London Mechanic's Magazine, we meet with the following passage:—'Some advantages of a peculiar character are connected with this institution, which it may be proper to point out. No place in the United States offers so great opportunities for the acquisition of anatomical knowledge, subjects being obtained among the colored population in sufficient number for every purpose, and proper dissections carried on without offending any individual in the community.' The colored population, then, according to the faculty of South Carolina, form no part of their 'community.' They have no feelings to be respected or offended!! You may cut up and mangle them as you please: they are but blacks, and no more to be regarded than any other beasts of the field. Of a truth, slavery must have a most debasing and hallucinating influence on all around it, when men of a liberal profession can talk thus of beings created with like feelings, affections, and rights, to themselves. It is singular to think that, notwithstanding the white-skin pride of birth of these cat-o-nine-tail gentry, they should have found out that, after all, a dead black man is quite as good as a dead white man, for every purpose of anatomical inquiry—has the same bones and sinews—the same veins and arteries—has the self-same sort of vital fluid—and (perhaps) all but the same sort of *heart*. Death is, indeed, a great teacher—a mighty leveller of distinctions!

The standing army of the United States does not exceed, according to Captain Basil Hall, 5000 men, over a surface of a million of square miles!

[Even these 5000 men are more than are necessary, as is evidenced by the sending of several companies from their stations in the northern states to the south, to 'prevent slave insurrections.' If just and proper measures were taken to abolish slavery, it would not be necessary for the people of the United States to be taxed for the support of those companies of the standing army which could be spared to go to the southern states. Yet, (would Capt. Basil Hall be believed if he reported it in England?) a paper in this city has recommended an increase of our standing army 'to prevent slave insurrections;' in other words, to PERPETUATE SLAVERY in the southern states at the expense of the others!—*N. Y. Daily Sentinel.*

How beautiful and exalted are the following sentiments of Dewitt Clinton!

'Pleasure is a shadow; wealth is vanity; and power a pageant; but knowledge is extatic and enjoyment—perennial in fame, unlimited in space, and infinite in duration. . . In the performance of its sacred offices, it fears no danger—spares no expense—omits no exertion. It scales the mountain—looks into the volcano—dives into the ocean—perforates the earth—wings its flight into the skies—encircles the globe—explores sea and land—contemplates the distant—examines the minute—comprehends the great—ascends to the sublime:—No place too remote for its grasp—no heavens too exalted for its reach.'

In the late attack upon Wilna, fourteen female warriors distinguished themselves in the Polish ranks. One of them was unfortunate enough to receive three wounds from a spear; in the midst of the hearty commiseration which her sufferings excited amongst her companions in arms, she exclaimed—'These wounds do not pain me.—How happy should I die, did I but know that Wilna is our own!'—The next moment she was a lifeless corpse.

The fate of the Poles appears to be settled:—they are left to the mercy of the Russian Autocrat:—farther resistance is hopeless. Gen. Romarino, with his corps of 15,000 men, had fled into the Austrian territory, where they were surrounded by Austrian troops, and had laid down their arms. Great rejoicings took place at St. Petersburg, on hearing of the fall of Warsaw. There was a general illumination, which an English paper calls impious.

Yankee Daring.—Two small smacks—or vessels built as such, but plugged—sailed from this port a day or two since, for the South Seas! We notice this fact as an instance of the intrepidity of enterprise which characterizes the hardy sons of Ocean among us. These vessels are only about 40 tons burthen—their decks are within a few inches, at the bends, of the water's edge,—and they carry 6 men each. They are bound round the cape, and are destined for the fishery of the precious finny tenants of those far regions of the deep.—*Stonington Phenix.*

Alderman Binns of Philadelphia, has been presented by a Grand Jury in some county in Ga. as a criminal, because he proposed at the Philadelphia Tariff Meeting to buy up the southern slaves with the surplus revenue and transport them to Liberia. The Alderman has addressed a reply to the Jury. We think he was wrong in so doing. Silent contempt is all that so silly and malignant a transaction merited. Vipers, you gnaw a file. Look to your teeth. This looks exceedingly like a desire to be rid of slavery! Of all the political hypocrisy that ever imposed on and pacified well meaning men, this is the greatest.—*Mass. Journal.*

Singular Habits.—A few days ago, an elderly man, of singular habits, attended by a servant, arrived at Perpignan. He takes no aliment that has been cooked, living upon fruit, milk, and eggs, with some herbs and roots in their crude state, rendered solid by abundant slices of raw veal and beef. His drink is water; his couch the ground, or occasionally a chair. In an exposition of his motives for adopting this mode of life, he says the result will be to keep himself in health and strength for 200 years.—*French paper.*

A Shaving Clause.—Band, in his history of Newcastle, says that a meeting of the fraternity of barber-surgeons there, in 1724, (of course long before Combination Laws were thought of) one of the resolutions entered upon the minutes was 'that no brother shave John Robinson, till he pays what he owes Robert Shafto.'

Bugs, have at ye all! The Macon Georgia Telegraph, mentions a new steam engine to destroy bed-bugs, not even sparing the unborn nits. It is of the size of a coffee pot, being a small portable furnace and boiler. The steam issues forcibly from the nose, which is guided to the rendezvous of the bugs, and makes their quietus.

Anagram.—One of the happiest anagrams in any language, is that which has been made from Pilate's question to our Saviour—'Quid est Veritas?'—(What is truth?) These three words make the following anagrammatic sentence: (*Est ver qui adest.*) (The man whom you see before you.)

Pennies swelled into Pounds.—On the day of opening the New London Bridge, the amount taken at 1d. per head from foot passengers at the gate at the Strand end of the Waterloo-bridge, was £124, which gives very nearly 30,000 persons.

Ordonnance Royale.—The following is one of the many curious ordinances of Catharine Alexowna, for regulating assemblies in Russia, and which we specially recommend to the notice of all tiptling dowagers of modern days: 'VIII. No ladies are to get drunk upon any pretence whatever, nor shall any gentleman be drunk before nine.'

A French chemist has ascertained by repeated experiments, that chloride is a perfect antidote to, and a remedy for prussic acid. Chaubert, it is known, has a remedy for prussic acid, perhaps the same.

The New Haven Herald states that a gentleman in Brandford has a chicken, four months old, which, from its shell, refused to remain with the brood-mother, but took up its abode with a cat and kittens, tumbling and playing with the latter, and flying from the hen as if from danger!

MORAL.

TEST OF CHRISTIAN CHARACTER.

It is sometimes said, and probably with great truth, "If you wish to learn the character of a Christian professor, you must go home with him." It is natural for all persons to clothe themselves in their best apparel, when they wish to appear in public. If we would see them in their "every day dress," we must go to their own dwellings. Here, they throw aside those garments which were designed merely for exterior beauty; and here, too, they cast off restraint. If, then, the Christian professor has any grace, it will shine in his own family. It is here the "thermometer" shows its regular and average gradations from day to day; because here it is neither exposed to the piercing chill of the northern blast, nor to the scorching rays of the meridian sun. It "ranges," as it were, "in the shade," from month to month, and from year to year. If the graces of the professor of religion, therefore, do not shine in his own family, it is because he has no grace to shine. It is here, that others may judge of his Christian character; and it is here that he ought to judge of himself. In the family and private circle, then, we may look for true characteristics of a genuine revival of religion. If we cannot find them here, we can find them nowhere. The Holy Spirit, in his special and official work, revives the graces of Christians in the private circle as well as in public. He makes the parent more devotional, more exemplary, and more faithful in family government and family instruction; and He makes the child more dutiful, more affectionate, more humble and more teachable. In the little family circle, where the graces of the Spirit are revived and strengthened, Christians may, indeed, enjoy an earnest of heaven. It is here, if any where, that religion must appear in its native loveliness; and if, in a religious excitement, the influence of the Spirit does not accompany Christian professors to their own habitations, and to their own closets, we must conclude either, that their is no genuine revival, or that, if genuine, these individual professors are not sharers in the great and glorious work.—*Boston Telegraph.*

Dangerous Institution.—It is said the receipts of the Park Theatre, New-York, for a fortnight, were \$11,000!—And that Forrest's four nights of 'the Gladiator,' produced \$4,400.

Where are now the alarmists? Where are the Argus-eyed and trumpet-voiced defenders of the wealth, and safety, and freedom of the nation? Here is a single Theatre, among half a dozen more in a single city, that takes up more money than both the Bible and Foreign Mission Societies.—*Am. Spec.*

THE COLLEGE.

Pursuant to a notice published in the Liberator, October 28th, a meeting was held at the African School Room, on Monday evening, Nov. 7th, on the subject of the College, proposed by the Philadelphia Convention. The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Samuel Snowden; after which, Mr. Primos Hall was called to the Chair, and Mr. J. T. Hilton appointed Secretary. The meeting was addressed by several gentlemen, among whom were Messrs Hall, Roberts, Barbadoes, Putnam, Cole and Cutler, Mr Remond of Salem, and the Rev. Mr. Snowden, all of whom were in favor of the establishment of the Institution herein spoken of. The company were also happily favored with the presence of the venerable Richard Johnson of New-Bedford.

The proposition of the council of the 28th ult. to form a State Society, to raise funds in aid of the said Institution, as requested in the proceedings of the Convention, was by a vote unanimously accepted. It was also voted, that notice be given through the Liberator, inviting the several towns throughout the State to send one or two delegates to unite in forming a Society in aid of the aforesaid object, which meeting will take place at the African School Room on Tuesday, the 29th inst. at 7 o'clock, P. M.

Voted, That the agents of the Liberator, residing in this State, be requested to make these proceedings known, and to exert their influence in impressing upon the minds of the people the importance of the object.

It is hoped that an object fraught with so much good to the colored population of America, will not otherwise than arouse the sleeping energies of their souls, promptly to lend their aid and influence wherever they may be; and to endeavor to enforce upon each other's minds the many advantages to be derived from the establishment of an Institution like that in contemplation, whose effect upon long rooted prejudice will be like the playing of the Summer's sun upon an icy substance.

Voted, That Messrs Garrison and Knapp be politely requested, by the Secretary, to give publication to these proceedings, for three weeks in succession, in their useful paper.

PRIMUS HALL, Chairman.

J. T. HILTON, Secretary.

TEMPERANCE HOUSE AT QUINCY.

THE Subscriber respectfully informs his friends and the public, that he has taken a large and commodious House pleasantly situated, at the Four Corners, in Quincy, (8 miles from Boston), for the accommodation of Travellers and such Company as may favor him with their patronage. No pains will be spared to make the most liberal provisions for his visitors, and to gratify their desires. No Spirituous Liquors will be sold, but HOT COFFEE and TEA may be obtained at all hours of the day.—Boarders can be accommodated on liberal terms.

BENJAMIN R. DOWNES.

N. B. Good stable for Horses.
Quincy, October 1, 1831.